

ROTC buildings; the incantations of SDS and the Black Panthers to violence; ad nauseam. Certainly, however, such actions are simply not representative of America's youth. Rather, they are the actions of a small, misguided faction who are encouraged in the belief tearing down is more progressive than building up.

Craig L. Staples of Derry, N.H., is evidence of the constructive attitude of the great majority of our future leaders. Craig is the New Hampshire State winner of the Veterans of Foreign Wars "Voice of Democracy Contest." Speaking on the theme "Freedom—Our Heritage," he asks that heated rhetoric be replaced by cooperation in the search for solutions to the problems confronting us. His is a commonsense approach that I believe merits a few moments reflection by all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FREEDOM—OUR HERITAGE

(By Craig L. Staples)

So many words have been written about our heritage. So many phrases have been echoed about our freedoms. It is difficult to pay original tribute to a theme that has so often been honored in the past.

What then is the best way for one concerned about his country to pay it tribute? Does he best honor it by adding to the oft-repeated rhetoric of the past? No, today that is not enough. Our institutions are under attack. Often those institutions do not work as effectively as they should. Violence has become a part of life for many. Our country is on many fronts torn by hate and distrust and fear. Rhetoric alone will not solve these problems.

The best way to honor our American heritage is to tackle our problems, to face up to our fears. That a nation might recognize for itself where it is lacking and where it is not is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to those who fostered such a nation. Rather than speak of our forefathers' high minded idealism, we must employ that same idealism to meet the problems facing us today. Rather than defend our system blindly, we must analyze it coolly to recognize its faults so we can correct them.

It is not necessary that we always agree, for Democracy does not require consensus. On the contrary, Democracy demands dissent. But our dissent must be of the kind that builds rather than crumbles. We must not let our disagreements collapse into disunity.

We can best serve America by listening to every voice, harsh or subtle. For only when every opinion is aired can the best course be plotted.

It is just to criticize a man's idea if one feels that idea is wrong. But we must not attack each other because that is disunity not discourse. In the end, name calling hurts all of us. For one American to criticize another American's motives simply for personal or political gain is an affront to the basic concept of our Democracy. Jefferson and Hamilton attacked each other's politics vehemently. But their purpose was to serve America and not themselves. Our purpose must be the same.

Of course, it is only just for us to despise those who may desecrate our flag but we can best serve freedom by realizing that it is their flag too.

It is only human for us to be angered at demonstrations. They upset our sense of order and make us uncomfortable. But rather than hear just the demonstrator's shouts, we should honestly appraise their grievances. If we can do that, then perhaps the need for demonstrations will be lessened.

We can best honor our heritage and those men who conceived our Democracy by taking

the same approach as they did close to 200 years ago.

Just as they did, we must develop a positive national attitude resolving to put aside our personal animosities in order to attack those problems that plague America today.

If we can do that, then this Nation, where the outspoken are not hushed and the soft spoken are still heard will continue to stand for generations to come. We owe our heritage and ourselves no less.

**KISSINGER'S CREDIBILITY GAP—
NO RED NAVAL BASE IN CUBA**

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, U.S. Naval Intelligence reports that the Russians now have a naval base at Cienfuegos, Cuba, capable of servicing a missile-firing nuclear submarine. The evidence reveals that the base is now operational and is being used to service Soviet submarines operating in the Caribbean and in the Atlantic Ocean.

This information was known prior to a nationwide TV appearance of the President. In his TV discussion of Cuba and Soviet naval activities in that area, the Commander in Chief affirmed that the Russians had no naval base in Cuba. The President assured the four network correspondents and the Nation that air surveillance provided certain proof that no Russian naval base exists in Cuba. The President added that the Russians had promised President Kennedy in 1962 that they would not place offensive missiles in Cuba and promised on October 11, 1970, that they would not establish a military naval base in Cuba. Moreover, the President expressed his belief that the Russians would keep their promise. In view of the fact that the Russians have broken almost every treaty they have ever made and that one Soviet leader stated that, "Promises are like pie crusts—made to be broken," one wonders why the President is so trustful of the word of the Russians—especially over the reports of his own naval experts.

The reason that the Commander in Chief and the U.S. Naval Intelligence hold opposite assessments concerning a Russian naval base in Cuba is a matter for speculation.

That concrete evidence gathered by Naval Intelligence is in error seems unlikely. The late Congressman L. Mendel Rivers clearly stated on the floor of the House of Representatives on October 8, 1970—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pages H9834-H9840 of October 8, 1970—that the Soviets at that time were building a nuclear submarine base in Cuba at Cienfuegos. Mr. Rivers challenged any official of the executive branch to issue an outright denial. There was only silence from the executive branch. Also, many Cubans in this country with firsthand personal information testify that the Russians have been building a naval base at Cienfuegos.

Could the variance of opinion between the Commander in Chief and U.S. Naval

Intelligence as to their estimate of the situation in Cuba be due to the fact that a public acknowledgement by the President of the existence of a Russian naval base in Cuba might stir up public indignation to demand action to oust the Russians from Cuba?

This seems plausible since the Kissinger foreign policy calls for the United States to avoid any direct confrontation with the Soviets; for if we ever had it out with our enemy, the Soviet Union, we might lose the phoney "peace" between the two superpowers but win the confrontation with a victory. The Russians have always backed down when their bluff was called.

Those Americans interested in preserving this great Nation, if informed of the threat, will demand that their Congressmen and Senators reveal the full truth of Soviet activities in Cuba and that we help the Cuban exiles give back power to the people of Cuba. Restoration of Cuba once again to the status of a free nation is in the best interest of our national security.

I insert following my remarks a very informative Review of the News article entitled "The Coming Cuban Crisis" by the noted columnist Paul Scott, a news clipping, and a resolution by the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce:

[From the Review of the News, Jan. 27, 1971]

THE COMING CUBAN CRISIS

(By Paul Scott)

There is a difference as great as night and day between that highly reassuring public statement of President Nixon on Soviet naval activities in and around Cuba and the information gathered by U.S. Naval Intelligence.

While the President sees no Russian naval base in Cuba, our Navy is privately warning that for all intent and purpose the Soviets now have a base at Cienfuegos, Cuba, capable of handling missile-firing, nuclear submarines. The U.S. Navy also gathered hard evidence that the Cienfuegos base is partly operational and was used recently to service Russian submarines operating in the Caribbean.

This is the ominous conclusion of the latest Naval Intelligence estimate of Soviet naval capabilities and intentions in Cuba waters now being circulated at the highest levels of the Nixon Administration.

The highly classified document was prepared before President Nixon made his astonishing statement over nationwide TV while being interviewed by four network correspondents. In discussing Cuba and Soviet naval activities in the area, the President stated:

"Well, I can tell you everything our Intelligence tells us, and we think it's very good in that area because as you know, we have surveillance from air, which in this case is foolproof, we believe.

"First, let's look at what the understanding is. President Kennedy worked out an understanding in 1962 that the Russians would not put any offensive missiles into Cuba. That understanding was expanded on October 11, this year, by the Russians when they said that it would include a military base in Cuba and a military Naval base. They, in effect, said that they would not put a military Naval base into Cuba on October the 11th.

"Now in the event that nuclear submarines were serviced either in Cuba or from Cuba, that would be a violation of the understanding. That has not happened yet. We are watching the situation closely. The Soviet

Union is aware of the fact that we are watching closely. We expect them to abide by the understanding. I believe they will.

"I don't believe that they want a crisis in the Caribbean and I don't believe that one is going to occur, particularly since the understanding has been clearly laid out and has been so clearly relied on by us, as I stated here today."

In sharp contrast to this Presidential "fig leaf," the highly classified Naval Intelligence document reveals that late in December a Soviet submarine tender operating from Cienfuegos, Cuba, carried out "servicing exercises" with three Russian submarines. The operational rendezvous of the Soviet surface ship with the submarines, including one nuclear powered sub, was the first of its kind for the Russians in Cuba waters. The bold "servicing exercises," photographed by U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, took approximately two hours and included the loading of supplies from the Soviet tender to one of the three submarines.

At least a dozen members of the submarine crew were exchanged during the operation. Those leaving the submarine were taken to Cienfuegos for "rest and recreation" or flown from Cuba back to the Soviet Union. Several high-ranking Soviet naval officers who had been flown to Cuba from the Soviet Union took part in the exercise.

Naval submarine analysts who studied the intelligence estimate say the "servicing exercises" definitely show that the Soviets can and are planning to use Cienfuegos as a submarine operating base.

Although the actual rendezvous took place outside of Cienfuegos Harbor, all supplies transferred to the submarine from the Russian tender were first picked up at the Cuban port. This clearly indicates that the Kremlin plans to use Cuba as a major supply base in the Western Hemisphere. Soviet naval crews housed in barracks at Cienfuegos Harbor were used to load the supplies on the Soviet submarine tender. Several members of the Soviet land-based crew went aboard the tender and took part in the "servicing exercises."

In addition to the carefully planned supply operation, the submarine tender and the submarines were in direct radio contact with a newly built naval communication center at Cienfuegos. Cuban refugees report that the center is completely manned by Russians. The high-powered radio at Cienfuegos is already being used to transmit weather and coded messages to Soviet missile-firing submarines now believed to be stationed off the Atlantic Coast as well as in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico.

The original copy of this Naval Intelligence estimate was forwarded to the White House during the recent holidays where Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's National Security Advisor, indicated that it would be carefully used in the formation of any Cuban action deemed necessary. Yet, while the Intelligence finding leaves no doubt that the Russians are using the Port of Cienfuegos as a submarine base, there has been no official determination of this at the White House policy-making level. All Naval officials involved in the drafting of the estimate have been able to learn is that the estimate is now in the hands of Kissinger's foreign policy staff in the White House for "further analysis and study." No National Security Council meeting has been called to discuss its ominous implications.

President Nixon's unexpected TV statement on Cuba not only surprised and shocked Naval Intelligence officials, but they did not inkling that the President would discount the Soviet naval activities in the Cuban area, nor could they fathom his reasons for doing so. The President's statement highlights the often frightening gap that exists at times between those who have responsibility for gathering the facts and those who interpret them for use in policy-making.

The position the President is taking has been interpreted by these Naval officials as an indication that President Nixon and his policy-makers haven't been able to agree on what to do about the new Soviet threat. If they accept the hard facts of the Naval Intelligence estimate, it is pointed out, the President and his advisors must conclude that the Russians have double-crossed them and violated the "understanding" not to use Cuban ports or bases for their submarines. That finding might trigger a new U.S.-Soviet "confrontation" over the use of Cuba as a base for offensive weapons—a "confrontation" that the Nixon Administration apparently is not willing or ready to face at this time, or which it wants delayed for reasons that are only known at the White House level.

Significantly, Mr. Kissinger recently asked Secretary of State Rogers again to sound out the Soviets on whether the submarine tender now operating in Cuba's waters will permanently use Cuban ports. Naval intelligence officials say the answer is clear by the fact that the submarine tender has been operating out of Cuban ports for the past three months and another is en route to replace it.

Two other parts of President Nixon's statement on Cuba also bother officials at Naval Intelligence. One was his pronouncement that he believed the Russians would keep the "understanding" not to put a naval military base in Cuba. In effect, the President by saying this publicly was accepting the private assurances of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Dobrynin over the hard facts gathered by the Navy. Yet, Gromyko and Dobrynin are both known to have lied to the late President Kennedy during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. At the time the Russians were sneaking I.R.B.M.s and medium-range bombers into Cuba, Gromyko and Dobrynin were assuring Kennedy that the Soviets had no intention of putting offensive weapons on the island.

To most military Intelligence experts it is a little frightening that President Nixon would even consider discussing Cuba with the two Soviet diplomats after their earlier deceptions. And to accept their word now, as the President says he has, is considered folly of the most dangerous kind. Especially in light of the Intelligence that the President has access to on Soviet activities in Cuba.

The other disturbing statement by the President was his contention that U.S. surveillance of Cuba from the air is foolproof. None of the Intelligence services have claimed that. For months, Defense Intelligence officials have been urging that more use be made of Cuban refugees so that the government wouldn't be caught "off guard" as it was before the 1962 Cuban crisis. Despite the high degree of accuracy of new U.S. reconnaissance cameras and devices, they still can't determine what is hidden under camouflage facilities and in storage areas. It is pointed out that daily reconnaissance flights would be needed over Cuban ports to determine if any Soviet submarines were using them. Now, if there are two reconnaissance flights a week this is considered high. And still unknown to U.S. officials is what the Russians have succeeded in hiding in the hundreds of caves being used as military storage areas on the island.

This lack of vital intelligence about Soviet activities in Cuba is privately admitted by rank and file American Intelligence officers. They claim it is the result of policy restrictions placed on the methods they can use to gather information on Cuba. An example of these restrictions is the White House bar against financing Cuban refugee operations to gather firsthand data on Soviet activities on the island. White House aides take the position that this type of intelligence gathering is prohibited by the 1962 "under-

standing" on Cuba reached by U.S. and Soviet officials.

The only sure way that the U.S. can learn the full Soviet capability in Cuba, these Intelligence officials say, is to use anti-Castro refugees to do the spying. "As long as the policy-makers have the preconceived idea that Russia has no plans to use Cuba as a military base," stated one military Intelligence officer, "it is impossible to convince them that a round-the-clock surveillance of Cuba is needed."

There are increasing signs that the President's handling of Cuba is closely tied to his strategy for the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (S.A.L.T.) with the Russians. Drafted by Presidential Aide Kissinger, the S.A.L.T. strategy calls for the U.S. to avoid any direct confrontation with the Soviets until it can be determined if the Russians are serious about curbing defensive and offensive weapons delivery systems. Kissinger privately takes the position that a U.S. admission that the Russians now have an operational naval base in Cuba could trigger demands in Congress that immediate action be taken to force the Soviets out of Cuba.

Such a U.S.-Soviet confrontation in turn would force a complete breakdown of the S.A.L.T. negotiations, which have been given the Administration's highest foreign policy priority. President Nixon is counting on reaching a missile agreement with the Soviets before the 1972 Presidential campaign.

During the recent Helsinki round of the S.A.L.T. negotiations (November 2 to December 19), the Soviet delegation showed its diplomatic interest in Cuba. The Soviet negotiators noted that Russia had every right to put a military base in Cuba if she so desired. They contrasted a Soviet base in Cuba to U.S. bases in Europe or the Mediterranean. The inference was that the Russians would be willing to forego any Cuban base if the U.S. pulled its aircraft carriers out of the Mediterranean or gave up its air and naval bases in Spain. The Soviet negotiators' argument is in line with the main Russian S.A.L.T. demand. It states that the U.S. must include its aircraft bases in Europe and aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean in any over-all agreement covering both offensive and defensive weapons.

This use of Cuba as a S.A.L.T. bargaining weapon clearly highlights the importance that the Kremlin attaches to its naval activities on that strategic Caribbean island. In light of this use of Cuba, Intelligence officials would like to see President Nixon adopt a more realistic view of what the Russians are up to in the Caribbean. Unless the President acts quickly, they see the Kremlin using Cuba to blackmail this country into either pulling its Naval forces out of the Mediterranean area or forcing the U.S. to make other concessions.

The American Intelligence community sees the Soviet naval base in Cuba as part of a network of naval bases the Russians are now establishing around the world. These include Mersa Matruh, and Alexandria, in Egypt; the Socotra Islands at the mouth of the Red Sea; and a former French base in Algeria. The expanding Soviet navy also has acquired the right to use the Port of Modisio in Somaliland, Trincomalee in Ceylon, the Mauritius Islands in the Indian Ocean, and one or more ports in Nigeria.

The establishment of this network of bases by the Soviets is being cited by Intelligence officials as evidence that the Kremlin has adopted a forward military strategy designed to control the strategic waterways of the world. This forward strategy also will permit the Soviet's missile-firing nuclear submarines to remain on stations constantly within the defenses of the U.S. and other N.A.T.O. nations. Its potential for blackmail, alone, is enormous!

If viewed in this light, the construction of the Cienfuegos base in Cuba is an even more

ominous development than the attempted deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles on Cuban bases in 1962.

The Cienfuegos base would be needed if really large numbers of nuclear submarines were to be continuously off the coast of the United States. That is the true threat of the base. Which suggests, in turn, that the Soviets are now planning continuous deployment of very large numbers of "Yankee" class and other nuclear submarines in the Caribbean and along the American coast. The Cienfuegos operation reveals an undoubted Soviet intention to gain a solid "capability" to knock out the Panama Canal and the entire land-based bomber component of the U.S. deterrent, plus the controls of the "Safeguard" A.B.M. system.

The most horrifying single aspect of the story of the Cienfuegos base is still the response with which the bad news was met at the White House and in Congress. Consider a simple comparison. In 1962, the Congress was in flames over reports of Soviet missiles in Cuba, even before the presence of those missiles was confirmed by U-2 reconnaissance photographs. Contrast this with the near Congressional silence that has engulfed the news from Cienfuegos ever since it first came out that the Russians were building a base there.

And then think of the Nixon Administration's response to *this* news, that is even more alarming! Consider President Nixon's reassuring statement that the Russians have no plans of doing what our Intelligence people say they are doing.

The obvious intent was, and is, to prevent the American public from growing alarmed, when we should be deeply alarmed. The question each of us should personally ask the White House and our Representatives in Congress is: Why is the full story of Soviet activities in Cuba being withheld from the public?

If enough of us raise our voices, we can force the Nixon Administration to take the necessary measures to dismantle the Soviet nuclear submarine base in Cuba before it is used as a serious *blackmail* threat!

One wonders what the outcome of the first Cuban missile crisis would have been if the late president Kennedy had delayed the Naval blockade of Cuba and warning to the Russians until after the Soviets had their missiles operational. How serious would Soviet blackmail have become? Intelligence leaks, some of them by the same sources that provided information for this article, forced Kennedy to act sooner than he originally had planned. Many involved in the first Cuban missile crisis believed that had Mr. Kennedy delayed his blockade decision a week or ten days the outcome would have been different.

What does Mr. Nixon's procrastination mean? Certainly no answer comforting to those concerned about American security is possible!

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 5, 1971]

SOVIET NAVY SUB TENDER NEARS CUBA

A Soviet submarine tender is headed for Cuba, the Pentagon said today.

The tender, accompanied by a guided-missile cruiser and a tanker, is not the one that left Cuban waters late last year after provoking fears that the Russians intended to begin operating their new Yankee class submarines from a base at Cienfuegos, Cuba.

The Yankee class submarine is similar to the U.S. Polaris nuclear powered submarine. Both carry 16 long range nuclear missiles.

Pentagon press spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim declined to characterize the movement of the tender. The three vessels were south of Bermuda today, he said.

He was somewhat evasive when asked whether the small task force was accompanied by any submarines.

"I don't have any submarine reports we can discuss here this morning," he said.

The practice in the past has been to discuss Soviet submarines when they are seen on the surface, but not when they are detected when traveling submerged.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL DEFENSE PASSED BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE NEW ORLEANS AREA ON DECEMBER 22, 1970

Whereas, the United States is today confronted with an extremely serious foreign crisis as a result of the aggressively expansionist policies and acts of the Soviet Union in several regional areas of the world, i.e., (1) Soviet forces constitute a major political and military presence in the Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean; (2) Soviet submarines and warships, equipped with missiles, operate off the coasts of the United States, as well as in the Caribbean; and

Whereas, the dimensions of the Soviet challenge are scarcely realized by the American people and the ordinary citizen is unaware that the U.S. has lost world leadership in nuclear weapons and strategic arms since the Soviet Union in the space of five years—from 1965 to 1970—has virtually quadrupled the total megatonnage in its strategic offensive force while in that same period the United States has reduced its megatonnage by more than 40%; and

Whereas, the United States is a maritime nation in a world heavily dependent on the oceans from an economic standpoint and from the end of World War II until recent times, the capability of American seapower to control the seas was unchallenged; and

Whereas, Russian seapower, which includes the largest submarine force the world has ever known, now challenges our capability to control the seas, and Russian military power in general and Russian seapower in particular, continue to grow at a rapid rate and their expenditures on defense-related Research and Development, which will determine the weaponry of the future, exceed ours by 20 percent; and

Whereas, the Nixon Doctrine increases our dependence on American seapower to satisfy those treaty commitments vital to our national interests, and every plan for the defense of the Free World depends on control of the seas; and

Whereas, the U.S. Navy during the past two years has deactivated some 300 ships while our replacement program, based on the premise of providing fewer but more effective ships, is proceeding slowly, and the FY 71 budget provides less than \$3 billion for shipbuilding, while it is estimated that \$5 billion annually for five years is required; and

Whereas, the U.S. ballistic missile submarine force will very soon be inferior to the Russian force in numbers and capability, and Russian submarine construction capability already exceeds ours by 300%; and

Whereas, the President's ABM program will, at best, give us a limited capability by about 1974, while an ABM system is in place and operational now around Moscow and it is anticipated that their anti-aircraft system, which protects the rest of the country, will soon have an anti-missile capability; and

Whereas, the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has stated: "... the future of this nation hangs by a thread. We are in a far more serious situation than many would have you believe. Our way of life is not only being challenged from within, it is being very definitely threatened from without. ... The issue, therefore is very simply how much money must we spend to insure our survival—since if we fail to demonstrate to the Soviet Union our determination to survive—the amount of money we spend for domestic programs will become merely an academic exercise."

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area strongly urges that the 92nd Congress

immediately undertake to provide the Defense Department with whatever monies, authority and guidance is deemed necessary to obtain the naval and military power required to guarantee our survival as a Free Nation in a Free World, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be distributed to: the President of the United States, the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, all Members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, the news media, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

THE "TREND" IN GREECE

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, recently the distinguished observer Clayton Fritchey wrote an article entitled "The 'Trend' in Greece." The article is worthy of the special attention of the Senate and the country. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE "TREND" IN GREECE

(By Clayton Fritchey)

WASHINGTON.—When if the tenuous truce in the Middle East breaks down—as it could in the near future—the Administration inevitably will have to review the security of the American position in the Mediterranean.

Presumably, the southern anchor of NATO is Greece, and if that is so, the United States is relying on a weak and unreliable reed. Why, it may be asked, should the Greek people support a nation (the U.S.A.) that is arming its oppressors, the Greek military junta?

Anyone who has been in Greece recently knows that the universal question is why America, supposedly fighting in Indochina to preserve democracy and the right of self-determination, is at the same time backing a military dictatorship in Athens.

The Truman Doctrine (to save Greece for democracy) is about to have its 24th birthday—and what a discouraging one it is. For over two decades the United States has poured billions of dollars into Greece for military and economic aid so that the people supposedly could enjoy the right to choose their own government. Yet the end result of all this effort is now one of the harshest dictatorships in the world.

Back in 1947, the great idea was to save Greece from the fate of countries like Yugoslavia and Romania, which had been taken over by Communist governments allied with Russia. Today, however, most Greeks would be only too happy to have as much freedom and security as the Romanians and the Yugoslavs presently enjoy.

No American President would presently dream of visiting Greece, but it is a noticeable fact that Nixon has gone out of his way to visit both Belgrade and Bucharest. Actually, these are among the few capitals in which Nixon has felt secure enough to ride in an open car.

Nevertheless, month by month the Administration steps up its backing of the Greek generals, regardless of their ever harsher suppression of democracy. It is all done, of course, in the name of NATO and saving Europe from the real or fancied threat of totalitarian aggression.

It is significant, though, that our partners in NATO—the free countries of Western Europe—do not seem to think the Greek mili-

terests are essential to their security. The Council of Europe, comprising all the democratic countries of that continent, has not hesitated to denounce the junta for torturing its political prisoners. Rather than face expulsion from the council, the junta withdrew.

When the United States resumed full shipment of arms to Greece some months ago, a State Department spokesman tried to justify it by saying what nobody else could see—a new “trend” toward constitutional government. The spokesman predicted implementation of the Greek constitution “by the end of this calendar year,” meaning 1970.

Instead, the junta wound up the year with a rash of fresh arrests. It turned its back on an agreement which was to give the International Red Cross access to its political prisoners. It also was blasted by an International Labor Organization commission for suppressing 250 trade unions without cause.

Does the United States—the world’s greatest power—really need to kowtow to these militarists? European opinion on this score has been well summed up by The Guardian of England. That distinguished paper called the American resumption of arms “a heavy setback to a return to a democratic form of government.” And it added:

“It strengthens the generals in their illusion about just how vital they are to Europe and to NATO. They overrate their importance. . . . The vital point is that Greece needs NATO far more than NATO needs Greece.” It could hardly be better said.

THE SOVIET DESTRUCTION OF A NATION'S HERITAGE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1971

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, in recent months we have heard protests about the treatment of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. These protests are justified, by all means, but we would do well to remember that Soviet Jewry is not the only culture marked for extinction by the Soviet slavemasters.

The Soviet Union, as we all know, is not a single nation, but a grouping of various nationalities, only one of which is Russian. Even today, in the “enlightened” post-Stalin era, these nationalities and their cultures are being brutalized in the name of the almighty Soviet.

The Jewish people in the Soviet Union bear a double burden of a Communist hierarchy, a religious heritage. Organized religion is considered to be an outmoded nationality.

When we protest Soviet inhumanity to those of the Jewish faith living behind the Iron Curtain, let us expand our cries to include protests for the Catholic, Lutheran, and Orthodox faiths, together with the eviscerated nations of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Belorussia, and Armenia.

Mr. Speaker, an excellent article on this subject was recently brought to my attention. It was written by Peter Worthington and appeared in the Toronto Telegram. I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

HIJACK CASE TURNS SPOTLIGHT ON MANY SOVIET INJUSTICES

(By Peter Worthington)

The case of the Leningrad Jews has stirred the indignation of the world.

Individuals and governments ranging from Pope Paul to Prime Minister Trudeau protested against the death sentence given two Soviet Jews accused of plotting to hijack a plane to Israel.

Although the Soviets commuted the death sentences to 15 years imprisonment, protests around the world against Soviet anti-Semitism (and anti-Israel policies) have increased.

But the Soviets appear unimpressed and recalcitrant.

Whatever the merits of the world-reaction on behalf of Soviet Jewry, it is only part of the overall internal situation in the USSR. And not necessarily the most significant part at that.

There are other groups and individuals inside the Soviet Union who have suffered—and are enduring—far greater indignities and injustices than are Jews in Leningrad, or elsewhere.

Without denying the right, or moral duty, of Jews around the world to protest on behalf of their brethren, there has been an uncanny silence over the years by the rest of the world on the plight of other victims of Sovietism. And this excludes, for a moment, the fate of the “lost peoples”—the Chechen-Ingush, the Crimean Tatars, and Belts who were deported and annihilated in the past.

A deep and resounding silence greets the case, say, of Yuri Shukhevych, a Ukrainian who was arrested in 1948 at age 15, because his father, General Roman Shukhevych, was commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army until he was killed in 1950.

Yuri Shukhevych has been imprisoned ever since in Siberia, paying for the “crimes” of his father. His original 10-year sentence is being renewed every decade because, according to the Soviets, he “refuses to be re-educated.” This means he refuses to acknowledge his guilt or to renounce his background. Yuri Shukhevych is doomed, it seems, to spend the rest of his life in custody. The 16-year-old boy is now a 37-year-old adult: more than half his life has been one of imprisonment, just for being his father’s son.

But no world leader appeals for justice—or compassion—for him. Only his fellow prisoners, occasionally, write petitions on his behalf—and promptly wind up in solitary confinement for their efforts.

Still, Shukhevych’s plight is not as cruel as that of Volodymyr Horbovy’s, an old man today whose first visit to Soviet soil occurred when he was imprisoned for “betraying the homeland.”

Horbovy used to be a judge in Czechoslovakia. He was imprisoned by the Nazis during the war. In 1947 he was extradited to Poland and put on trial for alleged war crimes. But the Warsaw court found him not guilty. Then the Polish secret police delivered him to the Russians who sentenced him to 25 years on an administrative decree. That was 23 years ago. He has been in the camps all this time, and still no suggestion of a formal trial.

Horbovy is now 73 and in frail health. Yet according to Gerald Brooke, the British teacher who was in Soviet custody and exchanged for Soviet spies Peter and Helen Kroger—and who is the last known Westerner to have seen Horbovy—the old man is possessed of such dignity, integrity and courage that even his captors respect and fear him. Horbovy has become a living symbol to other prisoners, and a legend throughout the Soviet camp network.

Horbovy’s greatest (and only) sin against the USSR was that as a young lawyer he

defended the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Stepan Bandera, at his trial in 1935. Bandera was subsequently assassinated in Germany by the KGB.

Again no one, except fellow prisoners and Ukrainians abroad, has ever protested the Soviet state’s crimes against Volodymyr Horbovy.

Then there is a man named Andreyev, who could qualify as the most unjustly imprisoned man on earth today. Andreyev was a witness at an international commission that investigated the mass graves of Polish officers found at Katyn Forest in 1943.

The Germans claimed the Soviets had murdered some 15,000 Polish officers, and 4,000 of these were in the graves at Katyn near Smolensk. The Soviets, when they recaptured the area, held their own investigation and counter-claimed that the Germans did the deed and that 15,000 Poles were buried there.

RUSSIANS RESPONSIBLE

Today with the exception of Soviet propaganda, the world accepts the fact that the NKVD executed the Poles.

Andreyev, who was a prisoner of the Germans and a witness to events at Katyn, was sentenced to a lifetime at solitary confinement in Vladimir prison when the Russians got him back. Vladimir prison is infamous in that few of its inhabitants are ever seen again. It is almost inconceivable that Andreyev is still sane. But he’s still alive, and still in solitary. That much is known.

The Ukrainian writer Vyacheslav Chornovil, who himself was imprisoned for chronicling the fate of others, has wondered wryly why such a harsh sentence was given for “false testimony.”

“Is false testimony under duress really such a terrible ‘war’ crime to justify 25 years in a stone grave?” he asks.

Again there has never been international or U.N. protest on Andreyev’s behalf.

There is also M. Soroka who was arrested in 1949 on a trumped up charge. On his release in 1949 he was rearrested for the original “crime,” and sent into exile. In 1952 he was given 25 years for allegedly organizing Ukrainian nationalist groups in the camps.

In 1957, after the 20th Congress “exposed” some of Stalin’s crimes, Soroka was rehabilitated with respect to the original frame-up in 1940—yet he was kept in custody. If he survives to the completion of his present sentence, he will have served 38 years imprisonment—all for committing no offense.

No international voice has ever been raised on his behalf.

A couple of years ago a large number of hitherto unpublished documents from Ukraine reached The Toronto Telegram and were duly published. They constituted extraordinary and irrefutable testimony to the policies of Russification and the repression of dissent under way in the USSR.

Now another of these documents has come to the West—this time a 15-page “chronicle of resistance” by Valentyn Moroz, a 34-year-old history teacher who was sentenced to five years of hard labor in 1965 for alleged anti-Soviet propaganda.

On his release for good behavior he wrote an impassioned story about the historic Ukrainian village of Kosmach, and the fate of that community’s religious artifacts.

Apparently a Soviet film team “borrowed” about 100 icons from Dvobush church for the movie *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. At the conclusion of filming the icons were not returned—were, in fact, confiscated by the state. Petitions, pleas, requests and demands by the village for their return were unanswered.

Moroz wrote an account of the events, replete with pithy observations about why the icons were “stolen.” He noted that in to-

Cuba

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NEW YORK TIMES

14. Submarine Off Cuba

Q. How concerned are you about the presence of a Soviet nuclear submarine in Cuban waters?

A. On Dec. 10 [the President was referring to his statement of Jan. 4] you may recall I said that if a nuclear submarine were serviced from Cuba or in Cuba, that this would be a violation of our understanding with regard to the Soviet Union's activities in putting offensive weapons or a base in Cuba.

As far as this submarine is concerned, the question is a rather technical one; whether it is there for a port call or whether it is there for servicing. We are watching it very closely. The Soviet Union is aware of the fact that we consider that there is an understanding and we will, of course, bring the matter to their attention if we find that the understanding is violated.

Cuba

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Soviet Attack Sub Reported Off Cuba

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Soviet nuclear-powered attack submarine has been spotted in the waters off Cuba, the Pentagon confirmed yesterday in discussing Russia's fourth naval cruise into the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico.

The Navy has launched a study, due in April, on how to keep track of Soviet submarines that ply the waters in America's back yard, where the Sousus listening system along the Atlantic Coast cannot hear them.

Asked yesterday "how concerned" he was about the presence of the Soviet submarine, President Nixon said at an impromptu news conference at the White House that "we are watching it very closely."

He referred to his statement of Jan. 4, declaring: "You may recall I said that if a nuclear submarine were serviced from Cuba or in Cuba that this would be a violation of our understanding with regard to the Soviet Union's activities in putting offensive weapons or a base in Cuba."

"As far as this submarine is concerned," Mr. Nixon continued, "the question is a rather technical one—whether it is there for a port call or whether it is there for servicing. We are watching it very closely."

The United States watches Cuba continually, relying most heavily on the photographic eyes of the high flying U-2 aircraft. So the deployment of surface ships can be observed. Submerged submarines must be monitored by other methods, with Cuban waters an especially difficult problem because existing underwater detection systems do not reach behind the island.

Jerry W. Friedheim, a Pentagon spokesman, identified the submarine as one in the N Class but did not name it. The N-Class subs are designed to ferret out and destroy other submarines, not to launch Polaris-type nuclear missiles.

The Nixon administration apparently regards such nuclear-powered attack submarines as acceptable in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico under the unwritten "understanding" with Moscow on how Cuba can be used for Soviet forces.

Friedheim used the term "harbor hopping" in discuss-

ing the presence of the Soviet sub, a Kresta-class guided-missile cruiser, a tanker and a submarine tender in "Cuban waters." He declined to specify what was covered by the term Cuban waters.

The cruiser, Friedheim said, left "Cuban waters"—presumably from Havana—Tuesday night and headed into the Gulf of Mexico. He put its location as "400 miles northwest of Havana." The Pentagon's newly adopted information policy on such movements is to disclose when Soviet ships enter and leave Cuban waters rather than describing their activities in between.

"We will not be detailing harbor hopping daily," Friedheim said. This differs from the Nixon administration's previous emphasis on describing Soviet naval movements in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico.

The Soviet press on Nov. 5 announced to the world that the latest task force of Russian ships includes a submarine. But yesterday was the first official U.S. confirmation of this.

Administration officials in the past have expressed concern that Soviet sub tenders at the Cuban port of Cienfuegos might service nuclear submarines in the Caribbean or Gulf.

Cuba

NEW YORK TIMES

Soviet Reported Tracking U.S. Ships in Caribbean

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to The New York Times

UNITED STATES NAVAL BASE, GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba, Feb. 19—Soviet ships reportedly have begun electronic surveillance of United States Naval vessels in the Caribbean.

According to authoritative sources, a Soviet information-gathering ship equipped with radar and sonar devices is operating in a 14,000-square-mile area of international waters south of Cuba.

The ship's task is to report on the United States warships from the Second and Sixth Fleets training in the area. About 150 ships a year train in these waters.

Also, two Soviet hydrographic survey vessels are known to be in the area off Trinidad. There

are strong indications that a Soviet guided-missile cruiser recently entered the Gulf of Mexico.

These ships are in addition to the Soviet naval force that recently arrived at Cienfuegos on the southern coast of Cuba about 500 miles west of this United States base. The force comprises a Russian nuclear-propelled submarine armed with conventional 21-inch antisubmarine torpedoes, a guided-missile light cruiser, a tanker and a submarine tender.

The Soviet ships, it is understood, will be under surveillance by United States air and sea craft when they leave Cienfuegos for visits to Cuban ports.

Naval sources consider the pattern of Soviet naval activity in the Caribbean as similar to that of the Soviet fleet in the eastern Mediterranean in the early nineteen-sixties. There, too, Soviet ships appeared in increasing numbers and frequency in what appeared to be a test of the tolerance of the

Sixth Fleet, then the dominant naval force in the area.

When bases had been established at Alexandria and Port Said in the United Arab Republic and at Latakia in Syria, the Soviet squadron was reinforced to its present strength of about 40 vessels and initiated constant surveillance of the Sixth Fleet ships, particularly the aircraft carriers.

Civilian and military officials fear that the expanded Soviet Navy may be planning a similar build-up in the Caribbean, one that might include the deployment of submarines carrying nuclear missiles.

First Entry in 1969

The first Soviet entry into the Gulf of Mexico-Caribbean area occurred in July 1969 when seven Soviet surface ships and one nuclear-powered submarine sailed into the Gulf of Mexico to about 300 miles south of the mouth of the Mississippi.

A second Soviet expedition into the gulf occurred in May and June of 1970, when several surface ships and another nuclear-powered submarine entered the gulf.

Soviet deployments of this type can be carried out without detection from United States underwater-detection devices because these are located largely along the Atlantic coast rather than the gulf coast. Once Russian ships are in Cuban waters, their movement north into the Gulf of Mexico can be detected only by air or sea surveillance.

United States officials say there is an understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States that Russian vessels armed with nuclear missiles will not be serviced in or from Cuban ports. In return the United States will not seek to oust the Government of Premier Fidel Castro, according to the reported understanding.

Some United States naval sources believe that the Soviet Government may consider that political developments in the Caribbean and Latin America warrant a naval buildup despite the understanding with the United States. From a Communist standpoint, it was pointed out, Latin America could be expected to move toward the sort of revolutionary situation that has prevailed in the Arab Middle East since the withdrawal of British and French influence and the alignment of the United States with Israel.

Warning by U. S.

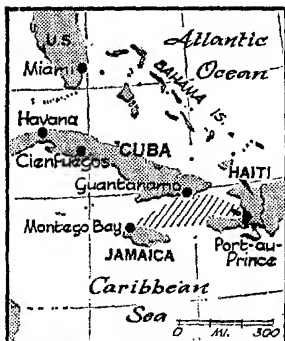
In December an Administration spokesman in Washington declared that breeches of the understanding by the Soviet Union would create a "very grave situation."

There is no doubt here that the Russians have established a base at Cienfuegos and that base is capable of accommodating Y-class submarines armed with nuclear missiles.

Naval sources assert that the Soviet navy is building toward a strength that will provide a fleet large enough to send powerful forces to the Caribbean as well as to the Mediterranean.

Soviet shipyards are said to be completing between 10 and 14 nuclear submarines each year. Eight to 10 of them will be of the Y Class, comparable to the United States Polaris strategic ballistic missile submarines.

The Soviet building program also reportedly includes three other types of submarines and at least two new types of heavily armed guided missile ships. One type of the latter vessel carries a full range of modern missile systems; ship to air, ship to ship and ship to submarine.



The New York Times Feb. 21, 1971
Soviet ships are tracking U.S. vessels training in Caribbean area (shaded).

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

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B11

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Tuesday, Feb. 23, 1971

B11

Castro Stalker Worked for the CIA

By Jack Anderson

The mystery man whom the Central Intelligence Agency recruited to assassinate Cuba's Fidel Castro has been laid up in the sick ward of the Los Angeles County jail.

He is handsome, hawk-faced John Roselli, once a dashing figure around Hollywood and Las Vegas, now a gray, 66-year-old inmate with a respiratory ailment.

Confidential FBI files identify him as "a top Mafia figure" who watched over "the concealed interests in Las Vegas casinos of the Chicago underworld."

Roselli has admitted to friends that he was a rum runner during the Roaring Twenties. Operating along the East Coast, he learned how to evade Coast Guard cutters and police patrols.

His name later became linked with the biggest names in the Chicago and Los Angeles underworlds. He also developed contacts in the Cuban underworld before Castro took over the Havana gambling casinos.

He had the right background for a hush-hush mission that the CIA was planning in 1961. As part of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA hoped to knock off Castro and leave Cuba leaderless.

Risks Neck

Roselli was recruited for the

job by Robert Maheu, a former FBI agent, who admitted to us that he had handled undercover assignments for the CIA. He refused, however, to discuss the details. This is the same Maheu, incidentally, who is now involved in a legal battle over phantom billionaire Howard Hughes' Nevada operations.

Roselli was so flattered over being asked to perform a secret mission for the U.S. government that he paid all his expenses out of his own pocket and risked his neck to land the assassination teams on the Cuban coast.

In James Bond fashion, he held whispered meetings in Miami Beach hotels with Cubans willing to make an attempt on Castro's life. Once, he called on Chicago racket boss Sam Giancana to line up a contact. The confidential files report that Giancana had "gambling interest and an interest in the shrimp business in Cuba." However, the Chicago gangster took no direct part in the assassination plot.

Roselli made midnight dashes to Cuba with his hired assassins in twin powerboats. Once a Cuban patrol ship turned its guns on his darkened boat, tore a hole in the bottom and sank the boat. Roselli was fished out of the water by the other boat, which escaped into the shadows.

In earlier columns, we reported how the CIA furnished

Roselli with deadly poison capsules which he tried through a relative of Castro's chef to plant in the dictator's food. Later, marksmen armed with high-powered Belgian rifles attempted to infiltrate close enough to gun Castro down.

All told, six assassination attempts were made, the last in the spring of 1963. Throughout this period, Roselli worked under the direct supervision of two secret CIA agents, William Harvey and James (Big Jim) O'Connell.

Roselli's Reward

The FBI which got wind of the assassination plot, has tried to pump Roselli for information. But he was sworn to silence by the CIA, and up to this moment, he hasn't broken it.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department, as part of its crack-down on organized crime, tried to nail Roselli. The FBI discovered that his Chicago birth records had been forged, that his name was really Filippino Sacco and that he had come to this country from Italy as a child. He was convicted for failing to register as an alien.

He was also convicted for conspiracy to rig card games at Los Angeles' exclusive Friar's Club.

Of Roselli's two CIA associates, Harvey has now retired to Indianapolis and O'Connell

is still on the CIA payroll. Both admitted to us a friendship with Roselli but refused to discuss their CIA activities. Harvey said he had a "high regard" for Roselli and called the Friar's Club case a "bum rap." Said Harvey: "The Friar's Club indictment is phony. Roselli had no more to do with that than I had."

Roselli's lawyers are now trying to get clemency for their client, citing our stories about his secret CIA service.

Firearms Fiasco

Under pressure from the firearms lobby, the Treasury Department has failed to enforce a vital section of the 1968 federal firearms act.

The law was passed after the murders of Sen. Robert Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King. It authorizes the Treasury Secretary to require full reports of all firearms and ammunition sales.

For the two years that the law has been in force, the Treasury Department has ignored this key provision. The gun industry has complained it would be a bookkeeping nightmare.

The federal government, which would have to compile all the sales data, has also been reluctant to spend the \$100 million it would cost for computers and staff to maintain the firearms files.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

THE WASHINGTON POST Tuesday, April 27, 1971

B15

Telltale Traces of CIA Cache Found

By Jack Anderson

My associate Les Whitten has just returned from a treasure hunt for buried CIA cash in the Florida Keys where pirates once stashed Spanish gold.

He found one cache where thousands in molding \$20 bills had been buried. But someone had reached the secret site ahead of him. All Whitten found were six weathered, matted \$20 bills that apparently had been dropped about 200 yards away.

In an earlier column, we reported that the Central Intelligence Agency had delivered bales of \$20 bills to Cuban exile leaders to finance clandestine operations against Communist Cuba.

Assassination teams, sabotage squads and commando units were sent against Castro after the abortive Bays of Pigs invasion. These missions apparently were halted after President Kennedy's assassination. But the CIA continued to slip infiltration teams into Cuba to gather intelligence.

The CIA paid all expenses, apparently, in cash. Huge sums were turned over to exile leaders, who gave no accounting of how they spent it.

There were whispers that some money had disappeared into private bank accounts, that other thousands were bur-

ied in former pirate lairs in the Florida keys.

Secret CIA Site

One who perked up his ears over the whispers was Bradley Ayers, a former Army captain, who was on loan to the CIA in 1963-64 to train Cuban assault teams. One training site had been located on Upper Key Largo on land that the Monroe County tax assessor's office identified as belonging to the University of Miami.

The CIA also operated out of a front, called Zenith Technical Enterprises, on the university's south campus. Thus the respected university, wittingly or otherwise, provided the site for an extension course in infiltration and demolition.

Ayers learned enough from his former trainees to figure out where some of the CIA money might be hidden. He told us he discovered a half-buried suitcase full of molding, mutilated \$20 bills.

The suitcase was in a remote spot that he was confident wouldn't be discovered. He took out a dozen bills to make sure they weren't counterfeit. Banks redeemed all but two badly weathered \$20 bills.

Then Ayers' house was mysteriously broken into and records of his find were taken. Fearing the CIA or Cuban exiles were watching him, he dared not return to the cache.

However, he told us his story and showed us the bank records. We also checked out his veracity carefully. I sent Les Whitten to accompany him back to the keys to recover the CIA money. We notified the Treasury Department, in general terms, that all recovered CIA cash would be turned over to the Treasury.

Treasure Hunt

Whitten, Ayers and Ayers' wife flew to an air strip on Upper Key Largo. Using it as a base of operations, they reconnoitered the dark mangrove thickets, sluggish canals, treacherous swamps of sea grass and crocodile-infested creeks where Ayers had once trained Cuban commandos.

For two days, they chugged through the creeks in a shallow-draft 18-foot skiff, startled occasionally by the barks of crocodiles. When they were convinced no one was following, they plunged through underbrush so thick they couldn't see four feet ahead.

Finally they came upon the bramble-cloaked site where Ayers said he had discovered the suitcase. The soil at the hiding place had been turned up and sifted for 10 yards in all directions. The underbrush and sea grass were trampled as if by many feet.

The suitcase full of currency was gone. Disappointed, they combed the area. Within a quarter mile, Whitten spotted a tattered \$20 bill. Ayers found two more, then Whitten

discovered a sheaf of three bills matted together with mud and grass.

The bills were near scraps of a road map, which Ayers said had been used as a wrapper for the suitcase bills. Treasury records show the bills were printed between April, 1966, and August, 1968. There is no way to prove this was part of the money which the CIA continued to provide anti-Castro exiles. But the stories that led to the cache came in part to Ayers from Cubans he helped train for the CIA.

Washington Whirl

Volunteer Army—President Nixon is leading the opposition to his own proposal for a volunteer Army—at least for the next two years. At a secret White House legislative conference, he warned GOP congressional leaders: "Some votes to end the draft may look popular temporarily. But in the long view, our recommendations (to extend the draft for two years) will prove to be right." White House aide Peter Flanagan explained to the leaders that "A short-fall of 100,000 men is expected" next year. He described the administration's plans to encourage volunteers by offering financial incentives, including a \$6,000 bonus to those who will re-enlist for combat duty. But he warned this "would mean cuts in other vital areas in the Defense Department."

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Jack Anderson

JFK Death Halted Cuban Oil Raid

THE SUPPRESSED STORY can now be told of how the Central Intelligence Agency organized a Cuban exile raid on Cuba's key oil refinery in 1963 but aborted it after the assassination of President Kennedy.

Insiders say the corporate oil giants, hoping eventually to recover their property in Cuba, brought quiet pressure to quash any raids upon refineries. Lyndon Johnson, who canceled the raid after succeeding Mr. Kennedy in the White House, was close to Texas oil interests.

We have learned the dramatic details from Bradley Ayers, a 36-year-old former Army captain, who was selected by the CIA to train Cuban exiles for infiltration and assault missions including the refinery raid in Matanzas province.

We have checked out Ayers' story with our own sources, who confirm he is correct about names, places and dates. From a group of pictures, Ayers also was able to pick out immediately a CIA undercover operative who we knew had been involved in the CIA raids against Cuba.

The rugged Ayers, a former Army ranger instructor, trained the refinery raiders. The recruiting for the mission had already been completed before he was assigned to the project. CIA officials took him by motor launch through swampy Everglades canals and across the open sea to secluded Florida Keys to meet the recruits.

Ayers and the CIA men selected Palo Alto Key, Upper Key Largo and Card Sound on the edge of the Everglades as training sites. "Most of the Cubans," said Ayers, "were bank clerks, busboys, waiters, musicians, laborers, men who had fled to the United States. Many had never fired a weapon. They were disorganized and undisciplined. The idea of reorganizing the training program."

AYERS ran off simulated raids near Card Sound against a local Southern Bell microwave facility with a high security fence. Other nights, he shared black beans and rice, drank and smoked "pot" with his Cuban cadre.

The rag-tag recruits gradually became a fighting team. For firsthand experience, he secretly accompanied two infiltration groups on missions to Cuba.

"We went on a commercially rigged trawler, a 'cover' vessel," he said. "We ran blackout under a quarter moon, towing a V-20 launch, a high-powered fiberglass boat.

"We exchanged light signals with the partisans ashore in Pinar del Rio and launched two rubber boats. The team made contact with the partisans, and we picked up a wounded man who'd been a prisoner of Castro. But the Cuban partisans were careless with the lights.

"After we got the wounded man into a rubber boat, we were discovered by a Soviet-type patrol craft with spotlights. We covered our withdrawal with machineguns from the V-20 boat. Although we took casualties, we finally got back to the trawler. Our boats were pretty well shot up.

"On the way home, we saw a Cuban fishing craft flying a distress flag and found it had a load of refugees. We took them on board."

A second sortie to cache supplies for agents already in Cuba was less eventful. Finally, in September, 1963, Ayers was instructed by the CIA to make detailed training plans for the refinery raid.

He was given specific orders not to land on Cuba himself during the raid. But he was too emotionally involved with the Cubans' cause to stay out and wrote himself into the plans. "We were all on a live-for-today, tomorrow-we-die philosophy," he explained.

But on the day of the final rehearsal, President Kennedy was killed, and the CIA ordered Ayers to shut down the operation. "I was in a sort of trauma," said the swashbuckling instructor. "I made trips to Washington to plead the cause of the freedom fighters with the minor officials I knew. But I just got disappointed and angry."

Finally in October, 1964, Ayers resigned from active duty with a long statement of principle to his CIA and Army superiors. "As a soldier, I had been taught I shouldn't question political or diplomatic action," he wrote. "But as a free-thinking American citizen, I couldn't subordinate my duty. My country was no longer playing to win, and my faith in the goals to which I dedicated my life was shaken."

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